

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 01551 01 OF 02 011822Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PRS-01 EB-08 TRSE-00
ACDA-12 OMB-01 /079 W
-----118618 012028Z /41

R 011445Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7364
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
DIA WASHDC
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 1551

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: JA, UR, CH, PBOR, XE, XC
SUBJECT: SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS: SOVIET VIEW

REF: (A) TOKYO 0722, (B) PEKING 0234, (C) MOSCOW 01009,
(D) TOKYO 1039

SUMMARY: N. N. SOLOV'YEV, CHIEF MFA DEPARTMENT DEALING
WITH JAPAN, GAVE POSITIVE READOUT OF SONODA-GROMYKO TALKS;
DID NOT RPT NOT REFER TO ALLEGED SONODA PLEDGE ON CHINA
VISIT REPORTED REF B; SAID SOVIETS WOULD VIEW SIGNING OF
PFT WITH HEGEMONY CLAUSE AS CONSTITUTING A "QUASI-ALLIANCE"
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 01551 01 OF 02 011822Z

BUT CLAIMED SONODA LEFT SOVIETS WITH IMPRESSION PFT
QUESTION "STILL OPEN", THAT TOKYO WILL APPROACH IT
IN A SOBER WAY", AND THAT JAPAN WOULD DO NOTHING
DAMAGING TO SOVIET INTERESTS IN THE PROCESS. SOLOV'-
YEV'S COMMENTS ON SONODA VISIT REFLECT CONTINUING
CAUTIOUS CONFIDENCE BEING CONVEYED PRIVATELY BY
SOVIETS ON SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN GENERAL AND

THE PFT IN PARTICULAR. HARD-HITTING SOVIET PRESS COMMENTARY CONTINUES TO WARN JAPAN AGAINST SIGNING PFT WITH ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE. END SUMMARY.

1. IN RECENT MEETING WITH EMBOFF, FRG DIPLOMAT, WHO SAT IN ON FRG POL COUNSELOR'S DISCUSSION WITH CHIEF OF MFA SECOND FAR EASTERN DIVISION DEPT. N. N. SOLOV'YEV, GAVE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF SOLOV'YEV'S COMMENTS ON SONODA VISIT. FRG EMBASSY TELEGRAM REPORTING MEETING DIFFERS SOMEWHAT FROM SUMMARY PROVIDED BY FRG DIPLOMAT IN PEKING (REF B). ACCORDING TO OUR FRG SOURCE WHO WROTE HIS EMBASSY'S REPORTING CABLE, SOLOV'YEV GAVE POSITIVE READOUT OF VISIT AND SAID SOVIETS WERE LEFT WITH IMPRESSION THAT THEIR ARGUMENTATION ON SINO-JAPANESE PFT HAD MADE AN IMPACT ON THE JAPANESE. SOURCE STATED FURTHER THAT AT NO TIME DURING THE CONVERSATION DID SOLOV'YEV REFER TO A SONODA PLEDGE (REPORTED REF B) NOT TO VISIT THE PRC IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

2. SINO-JAPANESE PFT. CONCERNING PFT, SOLOV'YEV CLAIMED JAPANESE HAD ASSURED SOVIETS THAT TOKYO WOULD APPROACH PFT IN A "SOBER" WAY AND WOULD DO NOTHING DAMAGING TO SOVIET INTERESTS WITH RESPECT TO PFT. SOLOV'YEV STATED SONODA LEFT SOVIETS WITH THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT PFT QUESTION IS "STILL OPEN".
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 01551 01 OF 02 011822Z

DRAMATIC JAPANESE PRESS REPORTING ON IMMINENCE OF PFT SIGNING, SOLOV'YEV HELD, IS MISLEADING. IF TOKYO, HOWEVER, WERE TO SIGN THE PFT IN THE NEAR FUTURE, SOVIET CONFIDENCE IN JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY WOULD BE "SHAKEN" AND THE CONTEXT OF SOVIET-JAPANESE BILATERAL RELATIONS WOULD COMPLETELY CHANGE. SIGNING THE PFT WITH THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE WOULD CONSTITUTE A "QUASI-ALLIANCE" BETWEEN THE PRC AND JAPAN. (NOTE: THIS IS THE STRONGEST PRIVATE SOVIET CHARACTERIZATION OF PFT SIGNING THAT WE HAVE HEARD; NOV. 30 1977 IZVESTIYA ARTICLE SAW PFT AS LEADING TO "MILITARY ALLIANCE". END NOTE)

3. GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY: SOLOV'YEV GAVE STANDARD SOVIET DENIAL OF THE EXISTENCE OF A TERRITORIAL PROBLEM WITH JAPAN. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE PROBLEM THIS PRESENTS FOR PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AND SAID THAT THE SOVIETS THEREFORE SUGGESTED DRAWING TOGETHER THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF SOVIET-JAPANESE BILATERAL RELATIONS AND INSTITUTIONALIZE THEM IN A GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY. THIS TREATY COULD BE VIEWED AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD A PEACE TREATY ON WHICH

NEGOTIATIONS COULD CONTINUE IN THE FUTURE. SOLOV'YEV
CONTINUED THAT THE SOVIET GOOD NEIGHBOR TREATY DRAFT
INCLUDES A CLAUSE ENVISIONING (A) REGULAR CONSULTA-
TIONS AND (B) CONSULTATIONS IN EXTRAORDINARY
CIRCUMSTANCES. (COMMENT: MOSCOW MAY SEE THE
PROPOSED CONSULTATION CLAUSE AS A POTENTIAL CHANNEL
OF INFLUENCE TO TOKYO OR A WAY TO REGISTER CLEARLY
THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT WITH JAPAN, INCLUDING IN
"EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES" THAT COULD RELATE TO
SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS, E.G., ON PFT. END COMMENT.)

4. U.S.-JAPANESE RELATIONS: OUR FRG SOURCE SAID
SOLOV'YEV'S READOUT ON SONODA VISIT INDICATED THE
SOVIETS WERE "SLIGHTLY SHOCKED" BY SONODA'S STATE-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 01551 01 OF 02 011822Z

MENTS ON JAPAN'S CLOSE RELATIONS TO THE U.S.

5. ASEAN-INDOCHINA: SOLOV'YEV SAID THE SOVIETS
REJECTED A JAPANESE SUGGESTION TO ATTEMPT TO BRING
ASEAN AND THE INDOCHINESE STATES TOGETHER SINCE
THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ASEAN
"BLOC". (NOTE: THIS IS STANDARD SOVIET CHARACTER-
IZATION OF ASEAN, WHICH PARALLELS THAT OF SRV. END
NOTE.)

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 01551 02 OF 02 011802Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PRS-01 EB-08 TRSE-00
ACDE-00 OMB-01 /067 W
-----118332 012028Z /41

R 011445Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7365
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
DIA WASHDC
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 1551

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

6. ECONOMIC COOPERATION: SOLOV'YEV SAID THAT DURING DISCUSSIONS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS THE SOVIETS WERE IMPRESSED THAT JAPANESE MADE THE INITIATIVES ON CREATING A MINISTERIAL-LEVEL ORGANIZATION ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION. HE ALSO COMMENTED THAT CHINA DOES NOT SEEM TO BE THE ROADBLOCK IT ONCE WAS IN JAPANESE CONSIDERATION OF INVESTMENT IN SIBERIA.

7. SOLOV'YEV'S COMMENTS ON KOREA WERE FULLY COVERED IN PREVIOUS REPORTING ON THE SONODA VISIT.

8. COMMENT: SOLOV'YEV EVALUATION OF SONODA VISIT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 01551 02 OF 02 011802Z

CLOSELY COINCIDES WITH THAT OF HIS SUBORDINATE, CHASOVNIKOV, REPORTED REF C. BOTH REFLECT THE CAUTIOUS CONFIDENCE PORTRAYED IN PRIVATE BY SOVIETS HERE REGARDING POSSIBLE JAPANESE SIGNING OF PFT WITH ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE THAT WE NOTE (REF D) IS SLIGHTLY QUALIFIED BY SOVIET DIPLOMATS IN TOKYO. THE SOVIET CONFIDENCE EXPRESSED HERE CONTINUES TO DRAW ON:

--RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LONG-TERM JAPANESE ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND SOVIET ECONOMIC RESOURCES (OCCASIONALLY CONTRASTED WITH CHINESE INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE RAW MATERIALS ON SAME SCALE);
-- JAPANESE FISHING INTERESTS;
--PRESENT AND PROJECTED SOVIET MILITARY POWER IN ASIA (SOVIETS HINT AT BUT DO NOT OPENLY DISCUSS THIS FACTOR);
--FOREIGN POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF UNCERTAIN OUTLOOK FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL STABILITY IN PRC.

WE ALSO FIND NOTEWORTHY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOLOV'YEV'S IMPRESSIONS RE SONODA'S "ASSURANCES" ON PFT SIGNING DESCRIBED PARA 2 ABOVE AND THE APPARENT

REFUSAL OF JAPANESE TO MAKE SUCH ASSURANCES INDICATED DURING JAPANESE READOUT OF VISIT IN TOKYO CONTAINED PARA 4, REF A.

9. THE CAUTIOUS CONFIDENCE PRIVATELY EXPRESSED BY SOVIET MFA OFFICIALS CONTINUES TO BE PARALLELED BY HARD-HITTING SOVIET PRESS COMMENTARY WARNING JAPAN AGAINST SIGNING PFT WITH ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE AND CRITICIZING "MILITARISTIC AND CHAUVINISTIC TENDENCIES" IN JAPANESE RULING CIRCLES IN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 01551 02 OF 02 011802Z

JAPAN. IZVESTIYA JAN. 31 CARRIES ARTICLE "PLAYING INTO PEKING'S HANDS" FROM TOKYO CORRESPONDENT THAT CLAIMS:

--RECENT LDP PARLIAMENTARIAN KUNO VISIT TO PEKING WAS FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY CHINESE RADIO BROADCASTS TO JAPAN DECLARING THAT THE JAPANESE NATION WILL NOT ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO OCCUPY FOR LONG THE "NORTHERN TERRITORIES";

--PEKING RADIO BROADCAST MADE IT CLEAR THAT IN THE "DECISIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION" PEKING SEES THE "STRUGGLE AGAINST HEGEMONY", WHICH CHINA IS TRYING TO INCLUDE IN THE TEXT OF THE "PLANNED PFT";

--THIS SHOWS THAT PEKING IS INTERESTED IN USING THE PFT TO DRAW JAPAN NOT ONLY INTO A PARTNERSHIP BUT INTO AN ALLIANCE "DIRECTED AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION";

--DIRGEN OF PM'S OFFICE INAMURA'S JAN. 18 "VISIT" IN A "PATROL BOAT" TO "SOVIET ISLANDS" (ASSUME THIS TO BE NORTHERN TERRITORIES) PLAYED INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE WISHING TO DRIVE A WEDGE INTO SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND WAS NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE "JAPANESE PEOPLE".
MATLOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MOSCOW01551
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780048-0837
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197802106/aaaadmdr.tel
Line Count: 265
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c36a08ce-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 TOKYO 722, 78 PEKING 234, 78 MOSCOW 1009, 78 TOKYO 1039
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3443508
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS: SOVIET VIEW
TAGS: PBOR, PGOV, JA, UR, CH, XE, XC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c36a08ce-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014